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2d, 3d and 4th of June. Mr. Smiley has sent out invitations to a large number of influential men and women to be his guests on the occasion, and the Conference will undoubtedly be one of exceptional interest and importance. It is expected that ex-Senator Edmunds will preside again this year.

The Secretary of the American Peace Society gave two lectures on "The Federation of the World" the 5th and 6th of April before the Faculty and students of the Meadville Theological Seminary, Meadville, Pa. The lectures were on the Adin Ballou foundation for the promotion of Practical Christian Sociology. Subsequently, on the 8th ult., the Secretary delivered a lecture on "War and Peace at the Close of the 19th Century" at the Oakwood Seminary, Union Springs, N. Y., and repeated the same lecture the next evening in the Friends Church at Poplar Ridge, N. Y. The Secretary has also recently given addresses on Arbitration and Peace at Whitman and Brockton, Mass., and before the Young Men's Christian Union of Boston.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE RED CROSS AND OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION.

BY PROFESSOR RUDOLF MÜLLER.

(CONCLUDED FROM APRIL NUMBER.)

The International Conference at Geneva, made possible through Dunant's tireless exertions, was in time held there from the 26th to the 29th of October, 1863. Fourteen powers were officially represented at it (Württemberg by the priests Dr. Hahn and Dr. Wagner); some others had in advance declared their acceptance of the conclusions had in view. Besides, several princes had either sent personal representatives or expressed their sympathy by letter. The conclusions of the Conference, in whose development the German representatives had taken special part, referred to the formation of central committees and sections in the separate lands, which should enter into proper relations with their respective governments, to the preparation in times of peace for rendering assistance during war, to the sending out of voluntary nurses in case of war, to the adoption of a common mark of recognition, namely, the white arm-band with a red cross on it, and to the meeting of the committees of the different countries in international congresses. Besides this, the following arrangements were declared advisable: (1) The support of the committees of aid by their governments; (2) The neutralization of the entire military and voluntary sanitary personnel, which Dunant had hinted at in his "A Reminiscence of Solferino," and clearly set forth even before the Conference of 1863, especially during his stay at Berlin; and (3) The adoption of a common mark of recognition for the sanitary corps of all armies or at least of all persons of the same corps, and a uniform flag for the ambulances and hospitals of all lands.

Before separating the Conference gave expression to its recognition of the services of Dunant and of the Geneva General Aid Society in these terms: "That Mr. Henry Dunant, because he has, by his unrelenting efforts, brought about an international inquiry as to the means to

be employed on the battle-field for the efficient protection of the wounded, and the Geneva General Aid Society, because it has furnished so powerful a point of support for the noble cause which Mr. Dunant has championed, have deserved well of humanity and won an incontestable right to general gratitude."

Immediately after the close of the Conference Dunant went to Paris, where he immediately attempted to bring about the formation of a central committee, just as he had even before the Conference at Berlin given the impulse for the creation of the Prussian Central Committee. At the same time he strove for the realization of a formal international compact, inasmuch as the resolutions passed and the wishes expressed at the Conference were only the expression of the opinions of the governments which took part in it, but could have no binding force. This second part of the task undertaken by the Geneva Commission, namely the realization of the wishes expressed by the meeting, was by no means light; for, to give these wishes a standing in international law, it was necessary to induce the different states to take upon them definite treaty obligations, and a proceeding of this sort was at that time something entirely new. The simplest and in part the only way was the calling of a diplomatic congress of real plenipotentiaries of the separate states. Since the answers of the governments to the questions sent to them by the Geneva Commission in November, 1863, were for the most part favorable, the congress was virtually assured. But a further difficulty was the form of the invitation. This could not be given by a Commission of a private character as was that of Geneva. For this difficulty the steps which Dunant personally took in Paris brought a fortunate solution. At the suggestion of Napoleon III, who had long before shown great liking for Dunant and his aims and took a lively interest in the success of the work, Dunant put himself in communication with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Drouyn de Lhuys, who promised that if the Swiss Federal Council would issue the invitation to the civilized states for the Congress, France as a great military power would support it and answer for its favorable reception by the states to be invited. This support of France, and the sympathy which Prussia had previously often shown, removed completely all difficulties.

The invitation, which the Swiss Federal Council sent out on the 6th of June, 1864, was attended with the best results. Of the twenty-five states invited sixteen sent official representatives to the Congress, which met from the 8th to the 22nd of August, 1864, and, at Dunant's personal request, in his native city, Geneva. The fruit of this Congress was the Geneva Convention, whose character is of course known, and which has since been adopted, not only by the civilized nations of Europe but also by those of the remotest parts of the world.

Thus it was that, in spite of difficulties which the work met with from traditionalism, military prejudices and the dire necessities of war, with the coöperation of diplomacy, a check was put upon the cruel power of war and through this convention a new rule of war was established for all peoples and for all times. The banner of mercy, the white flag with the red cross, is henceforth destined to wave on every battlefield and to spread its protective folds over every wounded soldier.

And that was not enough! This *first* example of a convention concluded between a *large number* of states

has since led to the conclusion of other treaties of a similar character for the improvement of international relations over the whole earth. "It is," says Dunant himself in reference thereto, "a great step in social progress that diplomacy to-day is inclined to give its earnest attention to works of benevolence and social improvement and that princes, the rulers of states, coöperate in bringing about the beneficent results of important movements whose only motive is charity, true and pure humanity, the progress of hospitality and the general welfare of peoples. The human race is destined yet to form only a single great family, in common accord for the general good, and in active mutual coöperation, led by the different princes and governments, for the benefit of the various peoples."

And if you ask me about the further history of the man, who by his own force accomplished so much, the answer unfortunately is that he fared as so many other benefactors of the race have fared. In behalf of the work, the realization of which he had set as his life task, he neglected his own interests, and after he had run through with the large fortune which he inherited, partly through the great sacrifices which he made for the accomplishment of his noble purposes, partly through inexperience in business affairs and misplaced confidence, he was soon entirely forgotten, though he had after his first successes been the recipient of honors and distinctions of all kinds, while his work in the meantime overran the world and spread blessing everywhere. Without permanent home and often struggling for the necessities of life, he lived first in England, then in Germany, where toward the end of the seventies known by few he spent some years in the family of the already well known priest Dr. Wagner then residing in Stuttgart. Subsequently he lived in out-of-the-way places in his native Switzerland. For a series of years he has dwelt in retreat near Rorschach in Switzerland, in a very simple way but in a philosophic disposition, and as in his youth so in his extreme old age inspired with love for everything great and noble. And now, though somewhat late, the man who is so highly deserving is again being remembered, be it said to the honor of our time, and an effort is being made to right the wrong which has been done him. While Dunant was as good as forgotten some years ago, his services are now being recalled again with honor in all sorts of daily papers, periodicals and pamphlets. Especially in his native land, Switzerland, where he is living in retirement, people vie with one another in giving him, on all possible occasions, deserved recognition. Nevertheless the shameful fact remains that for twenty-nine years one of the noblest and most deserving men of our century, who, but for a meagre pension of 1200 francs allowed him by his own family, would long ago have died of hunger, has been allowed to starve and in a hospital to reflect on the thankfulness of his fellowmen!

As the services of victorious generals and successful statesmen are recognized by donations, so this fighter against the horrors of war ought to have received a gift of honor from all the civilized states. But no one thought even of returning to him the large sums (some 50,000 francs) which he had spent in publications and journeys in furtherance of his humanitarian work. With satisfaction, therefore, will the friends of Dunant have learned in recent weeks from the papers that the Empress of Russia has signed a document in which the St. Peters-

burg Committee of the Red Cross pledges an annual pension to the founder*,—but at the same time also with a feeling of shame that Germany, which first of all lands, in the wars of 1866 and 1870, reaped the fruits of Dunant's labors, has allowed herself to be outstripped by another land in paying this debt of honor. But if we are not mistaken, Germany will seek to make amends for her neglect and will follow the noble example of Russia. May the memorial festival which takes place on the 8th of May (1896), Dunant's birthday, at the instigation of the Empress Augusta Victoria, in the White Hall of the Palace at Berlin, and to which all Red Cross Societies have sent their representatives, be a turning point in the fate of the sorely tried man, that to the creator of the Red Cross "may come a happy and peaceful evening, and the Red Cross on the White Flag shed a gentle radiance on his hoary form."

* Unfortunately this statement which was published by several papers has proved on closer investigation to be untrue. But in Stuttgart a provisional committee has been formed, which proposes to make an appeal to the public, and, in order to relieve the condition of the founder of the Red Cross, to ask the ladies and gentlemen of Germany to create a Dunant fund.

ETERNAL PEACE.

BY IMMANUEL KANT

1795.

"TO ETERNAL PEACE."

Whether the above satirical inscription, once put by a certain Dutch innkeeper on his signboard on which a graveyard was painted, holds of men in general, or particularly of the heads of states who are never sated with war, or perhaps only of those philosophers who are always dreaming their sweet dream of peace, need not be here discussed. The author of the present essay claims for himself, however, in presenting his ideas, the protection of one fact. The practical statesman when he comes in contact with the theoretical statesman assumes a haughty air, and looks down upon him with great self-satisfaction as a mere theorizer whose empty ideas can bring no danger to the state, founded, as it must be, on the principles derived from experience; the worldly-wise statesman may therefore, without giving himself any concern, allow the theorizer to throw his eleven skittle-balls all at once. This practical statesman must therefore, in case of a contest with the theoretical statesman, so far proceed consistently as not to suspect that any danger to the state lurks behind the opinions which the latter ventures honestly and openly to express. The author of this essay feels assured that through this "saving clause" he will be in the best manner possible protected against all malicious interpretation.

FIRST SECTION.

Which contains the preliminary articles of a perpetual peace between states.

1. *No conclusion of peace shall be held to be such, which is made with the secret reservation of the material for a future war.*

For, in that event, it would be a mere truce, a postponement of hostilities, not a *peace*. Peace means the end of all hostilities, and to attach to it the adjective "eternal" is a pleonasm which at once arouses suspicion. The causes of a future war, which are present though